

Divided States: Irish Independence and its Aftermath, 1918-1923

A Reading List

Church of Ireland Historical
Centenaries Working Group





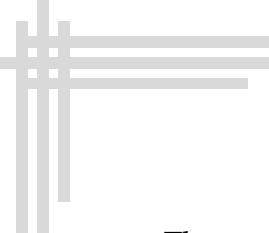
Foreword and Acknowledgment

In its report to the Standing Committee and to the General Synod in 2012, the Historical Centenaries Working Group recommended that, assuming that clergy and others were likely to be asked to express their attitudes to some of the events and even perhaps to participate in commemorative occasions, it would be helpful if some guidance was made available drawing on the best historical advice.

In producing this introductory reading list, the group is taking this recommendation a stage further, in order to equip members of the Church of Ireland, those already familiar with our history and those new to it, alike, for the current period of centenary commemorations. As Convenor of the group I wish to acknowledge the work of all those who have been involved in drawing up this bibliography, and most especially George Woodman. The group is also very indebted to the Archbishop of Armagh, for writing the introduction and, thereby, setting the scene for our reading.

+Paul Colton

Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross
Convenor, Historical Centenaries Working Group



An Introductory Essay

by the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland

The period between the General Election of 1918 and the ending of the Irish Civil War in 1923 undeniably moulded mindsets and cultures of Ireland – north and south – that are clearly visible through to the present day. To be sure, preliminary foundations had been laid before then in such pivotal and highly symbolic events as the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1912, the formation of the Ulster Volunteers and the Irish Volunteers, and the Easter Rising in 1916, but an edifice that is still recognisable was largely constructed in what were, in every sense, fateful years from 1918 to 1923. The great value of this historiographical index is that it allows those who wish, one hundred years on, to delve deeper into the history of those years to do so, albeit still with necessary care and with an appropriate degree of detachment.

Although it would be facile to suggest that everything that occurred throughout the island of Ireland between the General Election of late 1918 and the ending of the Civil War in the fledgling Free State in 1923 followed an inevitable or inexorable progression, we can certainly locate a powerful connection between the events that unfolded through the entire island in that period. The General Election that was held in Britain and Ireland shortly after the Armistice in 1918 witnessed the near-destruction of the moderate nationalist Irish Parliamentary Party coupled with a massive surge of support for Sinn Féin, who secured 73 seats as against the 6 seats won by the IPP. The Irish Unionists under Edward Carson won 26 seats, all but a handful in the northern part of the island. When Sinn Féin summoned a parliamentary assembly in Dublin in January 1919 – named “Dáil Éireann” – to proclaim the Irish Republic that had been asserted in the Easter Rising of 1916, unsurprisingly there were no attendees from either the Irish Parliamentary Party or the Irish Unionist Party, although all had been invited. In one of those nice ironies of history, the Mansion House in Dublin, where the Dáil convened, had been the venue for a reception to honour the Royal Dublin Fusiliers earlier on the same day, and Union Jacks and Irish tricolours were both in prominent evidence on the streets of Dublin on 21 January 1919. Although two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary – both Roman Catholics – had been killed on that same day in Co. Tipperary by members of the Irish Volunteers, it was the formation of a parliamentary assembly, claiming to be a parliament of the entire island of Ireland, that was the true touchstone for what followed.

For over two years, what is termed as either the “Anglo -Irish War” or the “Irish War of Independence” raged in diverse ways in the different parts of the island, as the British government sought to wrest control from the Irish separatists.

Dáil Éireann and Sinn Féin were proscribed in later 1919. In Ulster in particular, there was considerable violence (which inevitably followed sectarian fault-lines) between a nationalist minority and a unionist majority. In the southern counties of Ireland, there was a continuing guerrilla war waged against British military personnel and the Royal Irish Constabulary by the Irish Republican Army (as it was now termed), and pogroms were also carried out against those who were perceived as unionists (whether or not they were), and members of the protestant minority were frequent targets in this respect. Statistics for the total number of violent deaths through the period from early 1919 until a truce was declared in mid-1921 are difficult to establish, but 1,500 seems to be a reasonable estimate for the island as a whole, although the figure was probably higher.

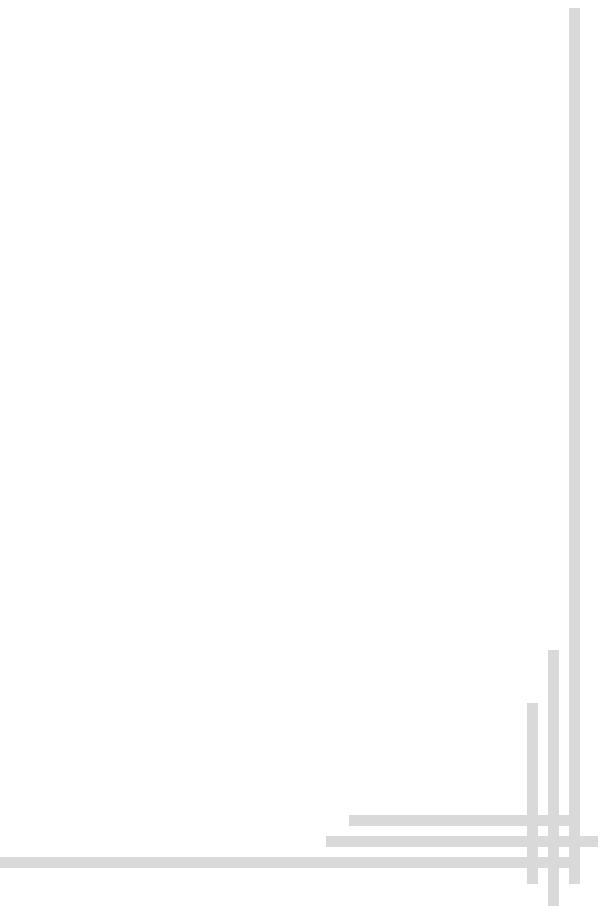
The Westminster government had initially toyed with the idea of two states on the island of Ireland, both with a form of very limited “dominion” status, in other words both would be connected to the British crown but each would be granted a reasonable degree of autonomy exercised through two separate parliaments, one in Dublin and one in Belfast. Both parts of the island would continue to have been represented in the Westminster Parliament. The Belfast government would control the counties of Ulster and the Dublin government the remainder of the island. This proved to be a vain hope amidst the polarising volatility and violence of conflicting and mutually exclusive political aspirations. The Ulster unionists realised that a nine county Ulster state would have a bare unionist majority and demanded a six county Northern Ireland – Ulster without the counties of Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan – which, would demographically encompass a sizeable unionist majority for the foreseeable future. The Westminster government agreed to this and although a “Boundary Commission”, to determine a precise border between what were then two states? was eventually conceded to the Sinn Féin powers in Dublin, it was seriously circumscribed in its scope. When it did finally meet – from 1924 to 1925 – it was never going to be in a position to propose radical changes to the existing six county arrangement. The 1920 Government of Ireland Act established a parliament for Northern Ireland, and was intended to provide a parliament for southern Ireland also. The latter never came into effect while the Northern Ireland Parliament remained in continuing existence from June 1921 until its suspension in the spring of 1972 when it was replaced by provisions for direct rule.

Meanwhile, following an uneasy truce in the south’s “war of independence” in mid-1921, negotiations took place on what type of relationship the remainder of the island would have with the United Kingdom. Here there were serious divisions between, on the one hand, those who wished for greater autonomy and even an Irish Republic but who were pragmatists at heart and who were prepared to accept compromise and, on the other hand, those who remained committed to nothing less than the totality of a republic, wholly independent

from Britain and comprising the entire island of Ireland. Although ultimately a Treaty with Britain was narrowly agreed by the Dáil in January 1922, which created an Irish Free State, still within the Commonwealth, with an obligation to accept the monarchy as a dominion, and with a tacit acceptance of partition in Ireland, this proved to be the fuse for a civil war which raged for eighteen months from early 1922. A further election to the Dáil in June 1922 returned a majority in favour of the Treaty but this did not immediately ameliorate the situation. Indeed it was at this point that civil war violence entered a far more serious phase. Particularly in the southern and western parts of the island, there was continuing and intense hostility to the agreement that had been painfully accepted by the Free State majority. A civil war is always a horrifying thing and this civil war was no different. Not only communities but families were torn apart, atrocities proliferated, and the long shadow of this civil war became a definitive spectre of division in political life, until well after a Republic was finally declared in 1949. Again the total number of deaths in the period of the Civil War itself is open to question but a minimum of 1,500, in all probability around 2,000 people, died in the short but intensely bloody conflict.

From the perspective of the Church of Ireland, it should not be questioned that there was considerable emigration of its membership from the area of the Free State at this time. Although it is still a matter of serious controversy between historians, there was certainly intimidation of many in the minority population, for a myriad of reasons. In all, there was a loss of over one hundred thousand protestants from the “26 counties” of what became the Free State between the census years of 1911 and 1926. Some of this would have been directly caused by the First World War and some would have been the departure of those involved in the British administration. However, it has been calculated that well over one-third in this drop of population occurred in those fraught years between 1919 and 1923.

The legacy of those years, in both Northern Ireland and what became the Irish Republic, is still apparent in many respects. It is well beyond the scope of this short essay (the purpose of which is simply to introduce a bibliography for the years that followed the First World War) to outline the unfolding of the cultures of the two jurisdictions. Both parts of the island, however, became ever more insular in culture in the immediate aftermath of the years we are considering. Political allegiances never truly developed along the ideological fault lines of “left” and “right”, so apparent in other European countries. And there were, naturally enough, dimensions of a particularised quest for identity which affected the life of different Christian denominations in Ireland. The Irish Constitution of the 1930s could assign to the Roman Catholic Church “a special place” in the life of Irish society. In Northern Ireland Lord Craigavon supposedly spoke of the Stormont assembly as “a protestant parliament for a protestant people.” For the Church of Ireland – a single Church spanning two



jurisdictions with reasonably sizeable populations in each – there have inevitably been times of stress, as differing cultures have jarred with one another. Happily, a sense of family and of common purpose has held the Church of Ireland together. My hope and prayer is that this will for ever remain. I believe, however, that if this is to be the continuing reality, it will be because members of our tradition have taken the trouble to understand from whence we have come, and hence why we are where we are today...

+Richard Clarke

A Guide to the Reading List

The intention of this list is to provide guidance for all who wish to study further an era in Irish history of which, in both parts of Ireland, there are very different narratives and interpretations. To set the events from 1918 to 1923 in context, there is coverage of both earlier and later periods. In Northern Ireland, the time frame is extended to December 1925 since the inter-governmental agreement on the Border that followed immediately on the collapse of the Irish Boundary Commission set up under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 is a more natural break-off point there. Priority is given to books published in recent years but some older material with an established reputation is included. All items should be available through libraries. It is hoped that most of the material included will be in print. However, sadly, in the modern world of publishing valuable books often have short print runs and go out of print quickly. This is only a small selection from a vast literature and it is hoped that what is offered will encourage readers to explore further. An asterisk * indicates that a book is available as an e-book, either through libraries or for individual purchase.

Irish History: The Wider Context

This is a selection of histories of Ireland, placing the events of the years after 1918 in the wider frame of Irish history, both of the last two centuries and earlier periods. Some texts examining Ireland as part of a framework extending beyond the island are also included.

*Bartlett, Thomas, (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Ireland* [In four volumes]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Vol. I: 600-1550 [ed. Brendan Smith]; Vol. II: 1550-1730 [ed. Jane Ohlmeyer]; Vol. III: 1730-1880 [ed. James Kelly]; Vol. IV: 1880 to the Present [ed. Thomas Bartlett]. – The most up to date multi-volume history of Ireland, drawing together the work of the most distinguished scholars currently engaged in historical research and history writing.

Bartlett, Thomas. *Ireland: a History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

*Bew, Paul. *Ireland: the Politics of Enmity 1789-2006*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

*Biagini, Eugenio F. and Daly, Mary E. (eds.) *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. – Presentation through thematic essays of social history of Ireland from 1740 to the present.

*Bourke, Richard and McBride, Ian (eds.). *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016. – A distinguished group of scholars survey Irish history from 1540 onwards. Part 1 is a straightforward narrative account. Part 2 consists of essays on a range of 'topics, themes and developments'.

*Connolly, S.J. (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. – Invaluable authoritative quick reference guide to all aspects of Irish history.

*Ferriter, Diarmaid. *The Transformation of Ireland, 1900-2000*. London: Profile Books, 2004. – Survey of political and social developments, showing both causes and consequences of the War of Independence.

Foster, R.F. *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*. London: Penguin, 1990. – First published in 1988. Modern developments traced from 1600 onwards in valuable synthesis of recent decades of research.

Foster, R.F. (ed.). *The Oxford History of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. – Classic concise multi-author survey of Irish history, society and culture from earliest times. First published in 1989 as *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*.

*Jackson, Alvin. *Ireland 1798-1998: War, Peace and Beyond*. 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

*Jackson, Alvin (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. – Survey of Irish history from c. 1580 onwards by range of scholars. Includes historiographical introduction, followed by thematic and period studies.

*Jackson, Alvin. *The Two Unions: Ireland, Scotland, and the Survival of the United Kingdom, 1707-2007*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. – Sets events in Ireland in the context of the development of the United Kingdom, in comparison with similar relationships in Scotland.

Kearney, Hugh. *The British Isles*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. – Presents events in Ireland in context of a history of the nations of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales without Anglo-centric focus.

Keogh, Dermot. *Twentieth Century Ireland: Nation and State*. 2nd ed. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005. – Political, social and cultural survey of the establishment and consolidation of the new Irish state.

Moody, T.W. and Martin, F.X. (eds.) *The Course of Irish History*. New ed. Cork: Mercier Press, 2011. – Classic multi-author text first published in 1967 and regularly updated.

Nationalism and Unionism

Here are some historical studies of the development of Irish nationalism as an ideology and of the unionism that developed in response.

Boyce, D. George and O'Day, Alan (eds.) *Defenders of the Union: a Survey of British and Irish Unionism since 1801*. London: Routledge, 2001.

*Boyce, D. George. *Nationalism in Ireland*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 1995. – Traces the development of the concept of the Irish nation and Irish nationalism from Gaelic Ireland to modern times.

English, Richard. *Irish Freedom: the History of Nationalism in Ireland*. Basingstoke: Pan Macmillan, 2006. – Examines how national consciousness has manifested itself in different ways in Ireland since 1600.

*Jackson, Alvin. "The Origins, Politics and Culture of Irish Unionism c. 1880-1916," In Bartlett, Thomas, (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Vol. IV: 1880 to the Present*, p. 89-116.

*Kee, Robert. *The Green Flag: a History of Irish Nationalism*. London: Penguin, 2000. – First published 1972. Established as a classic narrative account of events from the 1790s to the 1920s.

*Kelly, Matthew. "Radical Nationalisms, 1882-1916," In Bartlett, Thomas, (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Vol. IV: 1880 to the Present*, p. 33-61.

Maume, Patrick. *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891-1918*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1999. – Analyses political development of Irish nationalism in the years leading up to the struggle for independence.

Mulvagh, Conor. "Home rulers at Westminster, 1880-1914," In Bartlett, Thomas, (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Vol. IV: 1880 to the Present*, p. 62-88.

Events in Ireland 1913-1923

The books listed below concentrate on the main events of the period of the Anglo-Irish War in 1919-1921, the years preceding and following it and related topics. Events from the later part of this period such as the Treaty and the Civil War will be treated separately, as will studies of particular local areas and the experience of social groups.

Augusteijn, Joost (ed.). *The Irish Revolution 1913-1923*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. – Drawing on local studies, a group of scholars analyse the nature of the Irish revolution.

Coleman, Marie. *The Irish Revolution 1916-1923*. London: Routledge, 2014. – Valuable short study built round contemporary documents.

Costello, Francis. *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916-1923: Years of Revolt*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003.

Crowley, John *et al.* (eds.) *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2017. – Most substantial (in every sense!) publication on the entire sequence of events, its background and consequences. Over 140 contributions from an international team of scholars drawn from across a range of disciplines explore every aspect of the revolution.

Fanning, Ronan. *Fatal Path: British Government and Irish Revolution 1910-1922*. London: Faber and Faber, 2013. – Argues that both in Ulster in 1912 and in the rest of Ireland from 1916 onwards, change in British government policy towards Ireland was brought about by the use of physical force.

*Ferriter, Diarmaid. *A Nation and not a Rabble: the Irish Revolution 1913-1923*. London: Profile Books, 2014.

Ferriter, Diarmaid, and Riordan, Susannah (eds.) *Years of Turbulence: the Irish Revolution and its Aftermath. In Honour of Michael Laffan*. Dublin: UCD Press, 2015.

Garvin, Tom. *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005. – First published in 1996. Examines development of stable democratic state institutions out of the disruption of the revolutionary period.

*Hart, Peter. *The IRA at War: 1916-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. – Study of IRA's conduct of its campaign.

Hopkinson, Michael. *The Irish War of Independence*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2002. – Covers the period from 1919 to the Truce of 1921, with a strong regional focus.

Keogh, Dermot. *The Vatican, the Bishops and Irish Politics, 1919-39*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. – Study of the relationship between the first Irish governments and the Vatican, first published in 1986.

Kostick, Conor. *Revolution in Ireland: Popular Militancy 1917 to 1923*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2009. – First published 1996. Writing from socialist perspective, focuses on class conflict within Irish nationalism.

*Lynch, Robert. *Revolutionary Ireland: 1912-25*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015. – Generous treatment of emergence of Northern Ireland and good selection of extracts from historical documents.

*McGarry, Fearghal. “Revolution 1916-1923,” In Bartlett, Thomas, (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Vol. IV: 1880 to the Present*, p. 258-295.

Milne, Ida. *Stacking the Coffins: Influenza, War and Revolution in Ireland, 1918-19*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018. – Pioneering study of epidemic explores its impact on political developments.

Mitchell, Arthur. *Revolutionary Government in Ireland: Dail Eireann, 1919-22*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995. – Examines workings of alternative government set up by Dáil Éireann.

Regan, John M. *The Irish Counter-Revolution, 1921-1936; Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1999.

Townshend, Charles. *The Republic: the Fight for Irish Independence*. London: Penguin, 2013. – Comprehensive survey covering period from 1918 to 1923.

*Walker, Brian M. *Irish History Matters: Politics, Identities and Commemoration*. Stroud: History Press, [Not Yet Published]. – Due for publication June 2019. Includes essay on ‘Southern Protestant Voices during the Irish War of Independence and the Civil War: Reports from Church of Ireland synods.

Local Studies

The War of Independence involved events differing in character over the whole of Ireland, so studies of individual areas are an important part of the literature and one on which research has been concentrated in recent years. Below is a selection of writing arising out of this research.

*Augusteijn, Joost. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Mayo*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, [Not Yet Published]. – Due for publication winter 2019 but still unpublished in January 2019. Part of a series of concise local studies that aims eventually to cover each of the 32 counties. The other volumes so far published, and those whose publication is imminent, are included in this section.

Borgonovo, John. *Spies, Informers and the 'Anti-Sinn Fein Society': the Intelligence War in Cork City, 1919-1921*. Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2006. – Response to Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies* (See below).

Bourke, John. *Athlone 1900-1923: Politics, Revolution and Civil War*. Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2014.

Coleman, Marie. *County Longford and the Irish Revolution: 1910-1923*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003.

*Dooley, Terence. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Monaghan*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017.

*Farry, Michael. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Sligo*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.

Fitzpatrick, David. *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1998. – First published in 1977, this history of County Clare was a pioneer in local studies of the revolutionary period.

*Grant, Adrian. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Derry*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019.

Hall, Donal and Maguire, Martin, (eds.). *County Louth and the Irish Revolution*. Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2017.

*Hall, Donal. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Louth*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019.

*Hart, Peter. *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. – Important study whose findings were debated by other historians. Borgonovo's book listed above is a response to it.

*Joy, Sinead. *The IRA in Kerry, 1916-21*. Cork: Collins Press, 2015.

*McCarthy, Pat. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Waterford*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015.

*McCluskey, Fearghal. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Tyrone*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.

*O'Callaghan, John. *The Irish Revolution, 1912-23: Limerick*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, [Not Yet Published]. – (Due for publication winter 2018 but still unpublished in January 2019).

Walsh, Eoin Swithin. *Kilkenny: in Times of Revolution, 1900-1923*. Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2018.

Section VII of Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution: "War of Independence: Regional Perspectives,"* p. 532-636. – Chapters on all four provinces and detailed studies of individual towns.

Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921

While the Treaty is well covered in many of the books already listed, here are some books devoted to it as a separate topic. The Civil War will be treated in the same way in the following section.

*Knirck, Jason K. *Imagining Ireland's Independence: the Debates over the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921*. Lanham, Md.; Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006. – Traces developments in Irish nationalism through the process leading to the Treaty, as well as in the post-Treaty debates.

Longford, Frank Pakenham, Earl of. *Peace by Ordeal: an Account, from First-hand Sources, of the Negotiations and Signature of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921*. New ed. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972. – First published 1935, later edition, 1962. Long out of print, this remains the only account of the actual negotiation of the Treaty.

Weeks, Liam and Ó Fathartaigh, Mícheál (eds.) *The Treaty: Establishing Irish Independence*. Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, [Not Yet Published]. – (Due for publication August 2018 but still unpublished in January 2019). A range of scholars re-examine this critical period in Irish political history from a variety of perspectives.

Section VIII of Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution: "Treaty and Civil War,"* p. 642-665 – Three chapters explore various aspects of the Treaty and the lead-up to Civil War.

Civil War, 1922-1923

Clark, Gemma M. *Everyday Violence in the Irish Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. – Argues that the many acts of individual violence were an attempt to purge civil and religious minorities and to compel redistribution of land.

*Dorney, John. *The Civil War in Dublin: the Fight for the Irish Capital, 1922-24*. Newbridge: Merrion Press, 2017.

Foster, Gavin Maxwell. *The Irish Civil War and Society: Politics, Class and Conflict*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. – Examines Civil War as reflection of social divisions in Ireland.

Hopkinson, Michael. *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2004. – First published in 1988, this has established itself as the definitive narrative account.

*Kissane, Bill. *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Newell, Una. “Have We Been Playing at Republicanism?: the Treaty, the Pact Election and the Civil War in County Galway.” In Ferriter, Diarmaid, and Riordan, Susannah (eds.) *Years of Turbulence: the Irish Revolution and its Aftermath. In Honour of Michael Laffan*, p. 177-189.

Section VIII of Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution: "Treaty and Civil War,"* p. 649-747. – All aspects explored in detailed survey.

Partition and the Development of Northern Ireland

Here the focus is on events in Ulster leading up to and after 1921. Included are political studies of the different communities in Ulster and the workings of the Irish Boundary Commission from 1924 to 1925.

Bardon, Jonathan. *A History of Ulster*. 2nd ed. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2001. – Standard history placing events in wider historical context.

Bowman, Timothy. *Carson's Army: the Ulster Volunteer Force, 1910 -22*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. – Revisionist study of powerful force in Ulster during this period.

Elliott, Marianne. *The Catholics of Ulster: a history*. London: Penguin. 2001.

English, Richard and Walker, Graham (eds.). *Unionism in Modern Ireland: New Perspectives on Politics and Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996. – This collection also includes essays on southern unionism.

Fitzpatrick, David. *The Two Irelands, 1912-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. – Comparative studies of the two developing jurisdictions.

Follis, Bryan A. *A State under Siege: the Establishment of Northern Ireland 1920-1925*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. – Study of creation of political and administrative structures in Northern Ireland.

Harris, Mary. *The Catholic Church and the Foundation of the Northern Irish State*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1993.

Hennessey, Thomas. *A History of Northern Ireland, 1920-1996*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005.

*Hennessey, Thomas. *Dividing Ireland: World War 1 and Partition*. London: Routledge, 2014. – Explores changes made by the Great War to political aspirations throughout Ireland.

*Kennedy, Dennis. *The Widening Gulf: Northern Attitudes to the Independent Irish State 1919-1948*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1988. – Available on Kindle from Amazon.

Laffan, Michael. *The Partition of Ireland 1911-1925*. Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, for Dublin Historical Association, 1983. – Useful short summary of the North-South question from the Home Rule Bill to the 1925 agreement.

Murray, Paul. *The Irish Boundary Commission and its Origins*. Dublin: UCD Press, 2011.

Parkinson, Alan F. *Belfast's Unholy War: the Troubles of the 1920s*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.

Phoenix, Eamon. *Northern Nationalism: Nationalist Politics, Partition and the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland 1890-1940*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1994. – Includes detailed study of Irish Boundary Commission.

*Riordan, Susannah. "Politics, Economy, Society: Northern Ireland, 1920-1939." In Bartlett, Thomas, (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Vol. IV: 1880 to the Present*, p. 296-322.

Staunton, Enda. *The Nationalists of Northern Ireland, 1918-1973*. Dublin: Columba Press, 2001.

Stewart, A.T.Q. *The Narrow Ground: the Roots of Conflict in Ulster*. 2nd ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1989. – Sensitive exposition of Ulster history by a distinguished historian writing from a unionist perspective.

Biographies

Here is a selection of biographies, mainly of the holders of political office in both parts of Ireland during 1918-1923. The short study of Craigavon is the only modern biography of an Ulster political leader active at this time. Other books on the list, e.g. Jones, *Rebel Prods*, contain biographical material.

Buckland, Patrick. *James Craig, Lord Craigavon*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980.

Fanning, Ronan. *Éamon De Valera: a Will to Power*. London: Faber and Faber, 2015. – Most recent scholarly biography on probably the figure in modern Ireland who has attracted the greatest number of biographies.

Ferriter, Diarmaid. *Judging Dev: a Reassessment of the Life and Legacy of Eamon De Valera*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2007. – Part of important series, with generous reproductions of manuscript sources.

Foster, R.F. *Vivid Faces: the Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923*. London: Allen Lane, 2014. – Portraits of the young people who had leading roles in the revolutionary era and their subsequent lives in the state they helped to create.

Hart, Peter. *Mick: the Real Michael Collins*. London: Macmillan, 2005. – Scholarly study of another major figure who has attracted many biographies.

*Laffan, Michael. *Judging W.T. Cosgrave; the Foundation of the Irish State*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2014. – Study of major figure neglected by biographers.

Lewis, Matthew. *Frank Aikens War: The Irish Revolution, 1916-23*. Dublin: UCD Press, 2014. – Study of important figure of northern origins in development of Irish state, with strong coverage of sectarianism in border region.

The Southern Protestant Community

The following group of texts focuses on the experience of the protestant community both in the revolutionary era and in the Irish state as it developed in consequence of that era. (See also books by Brian Walker in section on events in Ireland 1913-1923 and Richard English in section on partition above.)

Bielenberg, Andy. "Southern Irish Protestant Experiences of the Irish Revolution," *In Crowley et al. Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, p. 770-780.

Bury, Robin. *Buried Lives: the Protestants of Southern Ireland*. Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2017. – Moves from first-hand accounts of protestant experience in 1919-1923 period to consider how that experience has been reflected in more recent years.

Coffey, Leigh-Ann. *The Planters of Leggacurran, County Laois: a Protestant Community, 1899-1927*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006.

Crawford, Heather K. *Outside the Glow: Protestants and Irishness in Independent Ireland*. Dublin: UCD Press, 2010. – Demonstrates effects of past events on contemporary protestant community.

*Fitzpatrick, David. *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories since 1795*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. – In context of the decline of protestant power in Ireland after 1795 the author examines question of 'ethnic cleansing' of protestants in revolutionary period. Other studies include the Orange Order and the Ulster Covenant.

*Irish, Tomás. *Trinity in War and Revolution 1912-1923*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2015.

Jones, Valerie. *Rebel Prods: the Forgotten Story of Protestant Radical Nationalists and the 1916 Rising*. Dublin: Ashfield Press, 2016. – Covers their subsequent revolutionary activities after 1916 and their later lives.

*McDowell, R.B. *Crisis and Decline: the Fate of the Southern Unionists*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1998. – Political and social history with emphasis on period from 1918 to 1922. Has superb concluding section of personal recollections of childhood and young adulthood from 1918 onwards on both sides of the Border.

Milne, Ida and d'Alton, Ian (eds.) *Protestant and Irish: the Minority's Search for Place in Independent Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2019.

The Role of Women in the Revolutionary Era

This is a selection of books on the contribution of women in both North and South and on how their status was affected as a result of Irish independence. The contribution and status of women are also significant themes in other books on the list, notably Foster, *Vivid Faces*, Jones, *Rebel Prods* and Boylan, *Family Histories of the Irish Revolution*.

Borgonovo, John. "Cumann na mBan in the Civil War." In Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, p. 698-702.

Coleman, Marie. "Cumann na mBan in the War of Independence." In Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, p. 400-408.

Coleman, Marie. "Violence against Women during the Irish War of Independence, 1919-21." In Ferriter, Diarmaid, and Riordan, Susannah (eds.) *Years of Turbulence: the Irish Revolution and its Aftermath. In Honour of Michael Laffan*, p. 137-155.

Hill, Myrtle. *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2003. – Explores development of women's role and status over the twentieth century, including the consequences of the War of Independence.

Hill, Myrtle. "Women in Northern Ireland, 1922-39." In Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, p. 833-835.

Knirck, Jason K. *Women of the Dáil: Gender, Republicanism and the Anglo-Irish Treaty*. Newbridge: Irish Academic Press, 2006.

McCarthy, Cal. *Cumann na mBan and the Irish Revolution*. Dublin: Collins Press, 2014.

McCoole, Sinead. *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years 1900-1923*. Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2015. – Revised and extended edition. First published 2003.

Matthews, Ann. *Renegades: Irish Republican Women, 1900-1922*. Cork: Mercier Press, 2010.

Matthews, Ann. *Dissidents: Irish Republican Women, 1923-1941*. Cork: Mercier Press, 2012.

Urquhart, Diane. *Women in Ulster Politics, 1890-1940*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2001.

Ward, Margaret. *In their own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism*. Cork: Attic Press, 2001.

Ward, Margaret. "Women in the Irish Free State: Gender and the Legacy of Revolution." In Crowley et al. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, p. 814-817.

Some Personal Perspectives

This section is devoted to older material, a mixture of historical accounts of the revolution and personal memories, reflecting very different perspectives on the events described. They are offered as a small sample of a vast literature.

Horgan, J.J. *Parnell to Pearse: Recollections and Reflections*. Dublin: UCD Press, 1998.
– First published in 1948, the work of a Cork solicitor and writer, a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, who deplored the violence of the era.

Macardle, Dorothy. *The Irish Republic: a Documentary Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of the period 1916-1923*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1999. – First published in 1937, with various later editions. Written from anti-Treaty perspective, reflecting the views of Eamon De Valera and drawing on his personal papers, so gaining the status of his official history.

O'Hegarty, P. S. *The Victory of Sinn Fein: how it won it and how it used it*. Dublin: UCD Press, 2015. – First published 1924. Written from a strong pro-Treaty perspective.

O'Malley, Ernie. *On Another Man's Wound*. Dublin: Anvil Books, 2002. First published in 1936. Now published by Mercier. Classic account of War of Independence from the viewpoint of a Volunteer and convinced republican.

Phillips, W. Alison. *The Revolution in Ireland: 1906-1923*. London: Longmans Green, 1926. – Earlier edition published in 1923. No later editions traced. Academic study, written from a unionist viewpoint by a professor at Trinity College Dublin.

Family and Memory

In conclusion, here is a study in which staff members of University College Galway remember relatives who took part on all sides of the conflict in Ireland. They reflect on how their family history was imparted to them and on its legacy for succeeding generations.

*Boylan, Ciara, et al. (eds.). *Family Histories of the Irish Revolution*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made to present a representative selection of what is best in the historical literature of this contentious period. However, as said at the start, that literature is vast and everyone is encouraged to read further. Details of some new publications may be added. This reading list is primarily intended to guide the individual reader to make his or her own discoveries. Such an exploration, while on occasion painful, is always interesting and has the capacity to be enriching.



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A pillar box with the monogram of King George V, Westmoreland Street, Dublin. Stamps over-printed with Rialtas Sealadach na hÉireann 1922 (Provisional Government of Ireland 1922) and Saorstát Éireann 1922 (Irish Free State 1922). Reproduced with permission of An Post.

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